

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

WAR AND PEACEKEEPING MISSION OF THE NORDIC-POLISH BRIGADE IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

**Artur O. Bilski-Lieutenant, Polish Navy
B.S., Naval Academy, 1990**

Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001

Advisor: Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Tjarck G. Roessler, Department of National Security Affairs

Since the end of the Cold War an increasing number of multi-national peacekeeping operations have taken place in Europe, Africa and Asia. This new phase of multi-national cooperation represents a step forward. This study focuses on the military and civilian aspects of the peacekeeping activity of the Nordic-Polish Brigade IFOR/SFOR (Implementation Forces/Stabilization Forces) in Bosnia. The deployment of the Nordic-Polish Brigade, composed of eight nations, including the five core nations of Denmark, Finland, Norway, Poland, Sweden, and the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian detachments, was intended to create a secure environment necessary for the work of humanitarian agencies. It also was to accomplish the non-military aspects of the agreement, within its capabilities and the limits imposed by military tasks. The civil-military activities in support of peace operations were new for NATO and for most, if not all, non-NATO countries as well. The threat in Bosnia to the peacekeepers was real. This thesis analyses different challenges, which the peacekeeping forces of the Nordic-Polish Brigade faced in Bosnia. This example of multi-national cooperation is now followed by other military enterprises as the South Eastern European Brigade located in Bulgaria. The Nordic- Polish Brigade is an example of successful multi-national cooperation between countries with different military and cultural backgrounds.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Peace Implementation, Civil-Military Cooperation, Anti-NATO Propaganda)

KEYWORDS: Peacekeeping, Cooperation, Implementation, Force Protection

FROM AUTHORITARIAN TO DEMOCRATIC REGIMES: THE NEW ROLE OF SECURITY INTELLIGENCE

**Ana M. Chavez-Civilian, Ministry of Defense of El Salvador
B.S., Albert Einstein University, 1983**

Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001

Advisors: Harold Trinkunas, Department of National Security Affairs

Thomas C. Bruneau, Center for Civil-Military Relations

The purpose of this thesis is to design a new role for security intelligence in new democracies that achieves a proper balance between the security of the state, the intelligence activities, and the individual liberties of its citizens.

In this sense, a democratic intelligence system should have a clear legal mandate for its functions and should be controlled and overseen by civilians under democratic principles, such as respect for the rule of law and human rights, accountability and transparency. This thesis compares the intelligence systems of Argentina, Romania, and El Salvador under their different regimes, authoritarian as well as democratic. It

also compares the strategies used by Argentina and Romania for their transitions from authoritarian intelligence systems to democratic intelligence systems. After comparing both the strategies used by these nations, one sees that designing a new model, a collaborative strategy, which includes all stakeholders, is the most appropriate approach, leaving the democratically elected authorities to employ an authoritative strategy when they deem it necessary.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Intelligence)

KEYWORDS: Intelligence Overview, Strategies to cope with Wicked Problems, Intelligence under Authoritarian and Democratic Regimes, New Role of Intelligence for New Democracies

THE REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA'S TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY: POLITICAL AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

Daniela Gr. Dimitrova-Civilian, Republic of Bulgaria

M.A., St. Kliment Ochridsky Sofia University, 1992

Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2001

Advisor: Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Thomas Bruneau, Center for Civil-Military Relations

This thesis examines the democratization of the Republic of Bulgaria since 1989, the year of radical changes in the world and Eastern and Central Europe in particular. A review of history and events since 1944 provides clues to understand the contemporary events on the Bulgarian political and social scene.

The thesis describes the major actors and agents of the changes in the country. By dwelling upon some of the major achievements of the current government in the process of democratization, as well as the progress in the development of civil-military relations in the country, the thesis suggests the way ahead for the reform of politics, society and security in South Eastern Europe and Bulgaria.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Civil-Military Relations, Other (Communist Past, Democratization)

KEYWORDS: Bulgaria in the Period 1944-2001, Communism, End of Communism, Transition to Democracy, Political and Social Implications, Security and Stability

MONGOLIA'S SEARCH FOR SECURITY

Ganbaatar Donrov-Major, Mongolian Army

B.A., Mongolian State University, 1986

M.A., Defense University of Mongolia, 1998

Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001

Advisors: Lyman Miller, Department of National Security Affairs

Daniel Moran, Department of National Security Affairs

Mongolia entered a new security environment with the end of the Cold War. The demise of the Soviet Union and withdrawal of Soviet troops from its territory have presented opportunities and challenges for Mongolia. On the positive side, Mongolia has broken free from its narrow geostrategic framework and is now charting its own future by pursuing a more balanced policy toward Russia and China and exploring the opportunities for closer ties with the outside world. On the negative side, the end of Moscow's security umbrella heightened Ulaanbaatar's vulnerability. Now Mongolia must address on its own the entire spectrum of threats to its security.

This thesis examines the dilemmas and opportunities facing Mongolia in the post-Cold War, post-Soviet Union world. Analyzing its changing relations with Russia and China, this study focuses on Mongolia's search for a "third option" -- reliable security and economic partners.

The best strategy for Ulaanbaatar, while pursuing a balanced and neutral policy toward its neighbors, to maintain independence and economic survival is establishing counterweights to Moscow and Beijing's influence. Cooperation with the international community, active participation in regional and international

arrangements, and creating a security regime in Northeast Asia comprise the “third option.” Mongolia sees maximum benefits through multilateralism.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security)

KEYWORDS: Mongolia, National Security, Security Conception, Approaches to Security, Self-Help, Alliance, Bilateralism, Multilateralism

URBAN WARRIOR: BREAKDOWN IN CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

Cheley A. Gabriel-Captain, West Virginia Army National Guard

B.S., Fairmont State College, 1995

Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001

Advisor: Harold A. Trinkunas, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: LTC Gerald T. Favero, USNG, National Guard Program Manager

It is estimated that by the year 2025, most of the world’s population will be located in urban, coastal environments. This knowledge becomes an indicator for the military as to what areas and types of training soldiers will need in preparation for future battles. The United States Marine Corps saw the need to train its soldiers in actual urban environments in cities across the United States.

During this realistic training, the Marines discovered real impediments when organizing the exercise. This thesis is arguing that with better civil-military relations, training exercises as well as real exercises in which the National Guard may be called out, these impediments can be erased or diminished.

The city chosen for the study of this thesis was Monterey, California. The United States Marine Corps conducted the Urban Warrior exercise on March 13, 1999.

This city exemplified an example of the impediments that can arise when coordinating with civilian agencies. Marines found that too much time and effort was needed to overcome issues that could possibly have been prevented through better civil-military relations.

This thesis concludes that most or all impediments discovered during this particular exercise could have been prevented by an early, aggressive and adequately staffed public relations campaign. It concludes further that public relations campaigns should be planned and organized prior to events. This planning and organizing should be conducted on a full-time coordinating and educating basis between military personnel and civilian agencies.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Civil-Military Relations, Other (Urban Warrior)

KEYWORDS: Urban Warrior, Warfighting, Urban Battlefields, USMC Civil-Military Operations, Civil-Military Relations, and Urban Warfare

PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN COLOMBIA: OBJECTIVES AND

STRATEGIES OF THE MAIN ACTORS

Juan C. Gómez-Major, Colombian Air Force

B.A., Simon Bolivar University, 1992

B.S., Colombian Air Force Academy, 1998

Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001

Advisors: Jeanne Giraldo, Department of National Security Affairs

Harold Trinkunas, Department of National Security Affairs

Colombia is enduring an internal conflict with almost forty years of history. Guerrillas and self-defense organizations are threatening one of the oldest democracies in Latin America just as the country is starting to recover from one of the deepest economic depressions since its independence. The Colombian government, with both civilian and international support, is trying to halt, or at least to reduce the level of violence. However, the enormous military and economic strength of the guerrillas and illegal self-defense groups is clearly delaying the resolution of this conflict.

This thesis analyzes the origins of the conflict in Colombia and shows how mistaken government policies and changes in the drug trade have contributed to the escalation of the conflict in the 1990s. It then

seeks to explain the prospects for peace in Colombia by analyzing the objectives and strategies of the different actors involved in the conflict. It concludes that the FARC guerrilla and self-defense groups seem to be interested in conflict perpetuation. On the other hand, the ELN, the state security forces and all domestic and international actors seem to be in favor of reaching peace. The final chapter then assesses the likelihood for success of the Colombian government's current strategy and makes policy recommendations. It concludes that the government's peace strategy and its unrelenting battle against narcotrafficking may be increasing the level of violence in the short run, but it should weaken the economic and military strength of the guerrilla and the self-defense organizations in the long run.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Conflict and Conflict Resolution)

KEYWORDS: Internal Conflict, Peace Process, Illegal Armed Actors, Guerrillas, Self-defense Groups, FARC, ELN, AUC

THE MEDIUM-WEIGHT BRIGADE STRUCTURE AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY AND THE ARMY OF UKRAINE

**Mykhailo Kyrylenko-Lieutenant Colonel, Ministry of Defense of Ukraine
B.S., San-Petersburg, The High Military College, 1986**

Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001

Advisors: Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs

Thomas-Durrel Young, Center for Civil-Military Relations

The U.S. Army has faced many formidable decisions on how best to transform. The fundamental changes in the strategic environment after the Cold War, crucial advances in technology and military doctrine related to the Gulf War and permanent involvement in peacekeeping/peacemaking operations around the world have led to a more flexible and lethal force structure. An army should maintain the capability for conducting various military operations from small-scale contingencies to major theaters of war. Therefore, based on major changes in the strategic environment—a dismantled Warsaw Pact, increasing asymmetrical threats, budget constraints along with frequent involvement in contingency operations—the U.S. Army once more confronts transformation and reorganization.

This thesis focuses on the current transformation of the U.S. Army to examine the history of reorganizing the U.S. Army along with the dynamics of reforming the Ukrainian Army. This thesis explores why a “medium-weight brigade-size” force structure became the key feature of the U.S. Army's transformation strategy for the forces of the 21st century namely, the “Objective Forces.” The main intention of this thesis is to reach conclusions about how the U.S. Army's transformation experience can be applied to the current process of developing the Army of Ukraine.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Civil-Military Relations

KEYWORDS: Transformation of the United States Army, Initial Brigade Combat Team, State Program of Development of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, Medium-Weight Brigade-Size Units

ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE OF THE MODERN STATE

**Valentyn Levytskyi-Lieutenant Colonel, Ukrainian Army
M.A., Academy of Ukrainian Armed Forces, 1996**

Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001

Advisors: Robert E. Looney, Department of National Security Affairs

Thomas C. Bruneau, Center for Civil-Military Relations

The goal of the thesis is to explore economic intelligence. The work includes the analysis of open sources. The approach to the issue of economic intelligence is based on the analysis of the state's economic security. The research presents the views of politicians, intelligence professionals, and scientists. It proposes possible objectives and missions of economic intelligence. Additionally, the research investigates the usefulness and reliability of open sources of economic analysis.

The second goal of the thesis is the analysis of modern schools of intelligence and classifications of intelligence by levels and components. Next, the work analyzes modern economic intelligence exploring its structure and activities. Then the work compares the intelligence process of public and private economic intelligence.

The third goal is to analyze the economic intelligence system of the modern state by using the economic intelligence system of Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Russian Federation, and United States as models for an economic intelligence system. Furthermore, the work points out the principal features of each system.

Finally, the research offers conclusions about the use and development of economic intelligence for the state.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Command, Control, and Communications

KEYWORDS: Economic Security, Economic Intelligence, Economic Espionage, Industrial Espionage, Competitive (Business) Intelligence, Economic Intelligence System

UKRAINE AND NATO: THE DEVELOPMENT OF MULTILATERAL RELATIONS (1989-2001)

Igor I. Lymarenko-Colonel, General Staff of Ukraine's Armed Forces

Higher Education Diploma, Frunze's Military Academy, Moscow, 1993

Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001

Advisor: Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Thomas C. Bruneau, Center for Civil-Military Relations

This thesis examines the evolution of the Ukraine-NATO ties since 1991. The rise of new states in the former USSR represents a diplomatic revolution of the first order, which this study analyses in part. The Ukraine is officially committed to a policy of neutrality, and has used its non-block status mainly to distance itself from Russia. It has, at the same time, tried to develop closer political relationships with the countries of Central and Western Europe. At this moment, it is vital for the Ukraine to establish a special relationship with NATO, as well as bilateral relations with the USA. By means of this policy, the Ukraine may confirm its independence and sovereignty, to build a new state, and to integrate into the Western society. Presently the Ukraine needs to create constructive relations with Russia. Furthermore the relationships between the Ukraine, NATO, and the USA will play a very significant role in the Ukraine affirming itself.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Civil-Military Relations

KEYWORDS: North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Neutrality, National Security, Commonwealth of Independent States, Strategic Partnership, NATO, Europe, Ukraine

NATO AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Florina C. Matei-Civilian, Ministry of Defense of Romania

B.S., University of Bucharest, 1996

Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001

Advisors: Thomas C. Bruneau, Center for Civil-Military Relations

Nancy Roberts, Graduate School of Business and Public Policy

Since the end of the Cold War, the Balkan Peninsula has been witnessing various conflicts. The Former Republic of Yugoslavia has become a theater of atrocious confrontations between people with common history and traditions. The wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo, two components of the Former Republic of Yugoslavia, have entailed the involvement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in the multinational efforts to stop violence in this region. Since 1990, NATO's new objectives are reducing the risk of conflict, building increased mutual understanding and confidence among all European states, helping to manage crises affecting the security of the Allies, and expanding the opportunities for a genuine partnership among all European countries in dealing with common security problems.

This thesis describes the characteristics of conflict and conflict resolution, with an emphasis on the factors that make a third party intervention in conflict "ideal." It will elaborate on NATO's diplomatic efforts to resolve conflict situations, providing an overview, analysis and evaluation of NATO's intervention as a third party in the conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. Emphasis will be placed on whether or not NATO meets the factors/criteria for an "ideal third party."

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Conflict and Conflict Resolution)

KEYWORDS: North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Conflict, Conflict Resolution, Third Party Intervening in Conflict Resolution, Ideal Third Party, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Kosovo

THE EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENSE IDENTITY: A CHALLENGE FOR NATO AND THE UNITED STATES

**Gert R. Polli-Lieutenant Colonel, Military Foreign Intelligence, Austria
Magister, University of Vienna, 1991
Ph.D., University of Vienna, 1995**

Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001

Advisor: David S. Yost, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Tjarck Roessler, Department of National Security Affairs

The development of the European Union's (EU) European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) since 1998 has strongly affected the EU-NATO relationship. Starting with the Franco-British bilateral declaration at Saint-Malo in December 1998, the EU recognized the need for autonomous military capacities for actions outside NATO's framework. This policy challenged NATO's agreement to enhance the European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) as a European pillar within NATO, as agreed at NATO's Ministerial Meeting in Berlin in June 1996. As the development of the EU's ESDP between December 1998 and December 2000 indicated, the members of the EU have put more emphasis on developing ESDP within the EU rather than developing ESDI within NATO. Developing the ESDP inside the EU, however, tends to undermine NATO's concept of strengthening the European pillar under the authority of the North Atlantic Council.

The development of the EU's European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) since 1998 has strongly affected the EU-NATO relationship. Starting with the Franco-British bilateral declaration at Saint-Malo in December 1998, the EU recognized the need for autonomous military capacities for actions outside NATO's framework. This policy challenged NATO's agreement to enhance the European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) as a European pillar within NATO, as agreed at NATO's Ministerial Meeting in Berlin in June 1996. As the development of the EU's ESDP between December 1998 and December 2000 indicated, the members of the EU have put more emphasis on developing ESDP within the EU rather than developing ESDI within NATO. Developing the ESDP inside the EU, however, tends to undermine NATO's concept of strengthening the European pillar under the authority of the North Atlantic Council.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (European Security and Defense Policy)

KEYWORDS: European Security and Defense Identity, European Security and Defense Policy, European Union, NATO, Berlin, Saint-Malo, Cologne, Helsinki, Feira, Nice

REFORM OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATION IN HUNGARY IN CONTEXT OF JOINING NATO

Imre Takacs-Major, Hungarian Army

M.A., Moscow Technical University of Telecommunication, 1984

Master of Arts in International Security and Civil-Military Relations-March 2001

Advisor: Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Thomas C. Bruneau, Center for Civil-Military Relations

Defense reform in Hungary has followed a difficult path from the Soviet era to NATO accession. This paper suggests how Hungary first adopted the new Defense Law and Basic Security Principles in 1993, and defined the roles of the Armed Forces in the new post-Cold War era. Secondly, by the end of the NATO

accession talks in 1998, Hungary transformed not only its own military to comply with NATO standards, but also the command structure and the leadership and management of the Armed Forces. As a consequence of the 1999 Kosovo War the Hungarian government initiated a new, three-phase defense reform concept. The new defense reform sets forth a smaller, better-equipped, sustainable army, capable of carrying out missions, originated in the 1998 Defense Law, the 1998 Basic Security Principles, and international obligations. Due to a broad parliamentary and public consensus and a ten-year process, from 1990 to 2000, Hungary has radically transformed its civil-military relation and established the basis of a Western democratic principle-based, civilian-controlled Armed Forces.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Command, Control, and Communications, Manpower, Personnel, and Training, Other (Military Technology Development, Budgeting)

KEYWORDS: Hungary, Civil-Military Relations, Defense Reform, Domestic Politics, Kosovo War, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Accession